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ABSTRACT

This essay examines the ways in which political science, as a discipline, has been influenced by feminist scholarship in the field. It explains that gender politics theory and research have grown tremendously since the late 1960s, focusing not only on including women in research on political behavior and policy, but also reevaluating the theories, models, and methods of the discipline. The essay goes on to offer examples of some of the contributions of gender politics research, emphasizing questions that would be easy to integrate into the typical undergraduate political science program, including examples from the subfields of American government and politics, comparative politics, international relations, methodology, political theory and philosophy, and political behavior and political psychology. It is concluded that gender is an element of the organization of political structures and processes in most political systems that is too important to ignore. The document includes a list of related electronic resources. (Contains 225 references.) (MDM)

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POLITICAL SCIENCE

Discipline Analysis

Virginia Sapiro
University of Wisconsin, Madison

WOMEN in the CURRICULUM

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Women in the Curriculum

POLITICAL SCIENCE

Discipline Analysis

Virginia Sapiro

University of Wisconsin
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National Center for
Curriculum Transformation
Resources on Women
1997

National Center for Curriculum Transformation Resources on Women
Institute for Teaching and Research on Women
Towson University
8000 York Road
Baltimore, MD 21252
Phone: (410) 830-3944
Fax: (410) 830-3469
E-mail: ncctrw@towson.edu
http://www.towson.edu/ncctrw

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PREFACE

Since the 1970s feminist and multicultural scholarship has been challenging the traditional content, organization, methodologies, and epistemologies of the academic disciplines. By now this scholarship is formidable in both quantity and quality and in its engagement of complex issues. The National Center for Curriculum Transformation Resources on Women is therefore publishing a series of essays that provide brief, succinct overviews of the new scholarship. Outstanding scholars in the disciplines generously agreed to write the essays, which are intended to help faculty who want to revise courses in light of the new information and perspectives. Each essay is accompanied by a bibliography that includes references for further reading, resources for the classroom, and electronic resources.

Elaine Hedges

Series Editor

POLITICAL SCIENCE

Introduction

If the roots of political science go back to the great thinkers who struggled to identify how to organize and run the good polity, so then do the roots of the study of gender politics. For most of the writers now commonly accepted as part of the canon of political philosophy, it seemed obvious that in order to understand the nature of *society-wide* organization of power and authority, especially through time, it was necessary to probe the apparently most basic division of labor and power, that which existed between women and men, and to understand the relations among generations not just in abstraction, but in the tangible relations among mothers, fathers, and children. Thus, well-known works of the "great" political philosophers are rich in material on gender politics (e.g. Aristotle, *The Politics*; Plato, *The Republic*; Montesquieu, *The Persian Letters*; Rousseau, *Emile*; Engels, *The Origin of the Family, Private Property, and the State*; J.S. Mill, *The Subjection of Women*; Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*). Curiously, twentieth century academic political science has generally ignored this important part of its own tradition, even since the development of organized women's groups within the discipline and of a field of "women and politics" in the late 1960s.

Less widely known is the lengthy history of feminist and proto-feminist theorizing on politics, including (but

not limited to) critique of the mostly male-dominated traditions. Historians have identified many vigorous and influential writings and debates, such as the lively 16th-17th-century English controversy on women (Henderson and McManus 1985). Certainly there are well-known feminist political thinkers who have not been given their due as individual "great writers" outside of explicitly feminist courses. Among these are the English Jacobin Mary Wollstonecraft (1759-1797), who not only argued against the artificial constraints placed on women, but also offered an alternative view of the basis of liberal politics; African American writers Anna Julia Cooper (1858-1964) and Ida B. Wells-Barnett (1862-1931), who developed sophisticated analyses of the interrelationships of gender and race politics; American sociologist Charlotte Perkins Gilman (1868-1935), one of the earliest theorists to create feminist theory embedded clearly in the industrial age of political economy; and French existentialist Simone de Beauvoir (1908-1994), whose treatise on the constructed nature of gender remains a landmark.

Gender politics[1] theory and research have grown tremendously since the late 1960s. As in most other disciplines, the field of gender politics first emerged largely through critique, which remains an important thread in the literature. The feminist critical literature within political science shares sources and perspectives with scholarly critiques of other disciplines, especially in the social sciences. (For good basic references for the social sciences generally, see Eichler 1980 and Harding 1991.) So many feminist critiques of political science are available that we can refer to them only very briefly here (e.g., Bourke and Grossholtz 1974; Nelson 1989; Sapiro 1983, 1987, 1991).

Outside the community of scholars and teachers influenced by women's studies, women and their experiences and perspectives tend to be either ignored or described

through stereotype and conventional wisdom rather than through knowledge gained through careful systematic research. Indeed, gender itself is rarely incorporated as a key concept or variable in political science despite the degree to which the political world and even concepts of what constitutes "the political" are structured by gender (Elshtain 1981, Di Stephano 1992, Phillips 1991).

The study of gender politics quickly moved beyond mere critique to an exploration of gender politics throughout the various subfields of political science. Gender politics research falls into two broad categories in terms of its relationship to the discipline and subdisciplines of political science as a whole. The first, and most common, incorporates women into analysis by asking, "What about women?" Depending on the subfield, this kind of work might "control for gender" or look for gender differences and their explanation in research on political behavior and attitudes (e.g., Lovenduski and Norris 1993; Darcy, Welch and Clark 1994), explore law and policy "on women" (e.g., Rhode 1989) or compare the impact of specific laws and policies on women and men (Sainsbury 1993), study female as well as male or feminist as well as nonfeminist theorists, or cull any of the traditionally studied political philosophers for thought about women. Introducing women and gender into the political science curriculum is as easy as elaborating any standard important question in the field simply by asking, what about women and gender? At this stage of the field's history, a literature suitable for assisting in this task is available in almost every corner of the discipline.

A second major approach to gender politics reconsiders the methods, concepts, and models of political science not just to incorporate women substantively, but also in a manner that reevaluates the theories, models, and methods of political science. Thinking seriously about gen-

der alters our understanding of political phenomena and reveals some inadequacies of earlier approaches. Perhaps the best example is the widespread critique of conventional definitions and treatments of the "public" and "private" and their relationship to models of politics (e.g., Einhorn 1993, Elshtain 1981, Phillips 1991, Sapiro 1993).[2] As these and other writers have pointed out, gender has been an integral part of the way theorists and societies have defined and distinguished between public and private, political and non-political. Similarly, some work in international relations shows the extraordinary degree to which that field is defined in culturally masculine terms and thus is limited by its relative lack of attention to gender compared with almost all other fields (Cohen 1987, Enloe 1989, Grant and Newland 1992, Peterson 1992).

The remainder of this essay offers examples of contributions offered by gender politics research in political science, emphasizing questions that would be appropriate and relatively easy to integrate into courses typical of undergraduate political science programs. There are, of course, numerous ways of dividing and categorizing our discipline. I shall use these classic categories for the sake of organization: American Government and Politics; Comparative Politics; International Relations and International Political Economy; Methodology; Political Theory and Philosophy; Political Behavior and Political Psychology.

American Government and Politics

Most political scientists who are unfamiliar with gender politics' contributions to the discipline would be astonished by the quantity and quality of available writing, especially in American politics. Thus, far from summariz-

ing or outlining all that is available, I will merely offer some highlights and examples.

Many of the central questions organizing teaching in this field revolve around the definition and theoretical and historical nature of American democracy. Not only are these themes central to the study of women and politics; integrating gender politics into the curriculum can make important contributions to these themes more broadly. If we take the possibility of women as full citizens seriously, what are the implications for the study of American democracy? What if we accept a premise of feminist scholarship, that a government that excludes half its population from basic "citizenship" rights and obligations cannot be labelled a democracy? When did the United States rightfully earn the title *democracy*? Consider how late women technically received such basic citizenship *rights* (remembering that many women were still long excluded from these rights because of their race) as property ownership (1840s), voting (1920), keeping one's own citizenship even if married (1922), passing one's own citizenship on to one's children (1934), and equal employment opportunity (1965), or such basic citizenship *obligations* as paying taxes (for which women were always liable), sitting on juries (1974), or being subject to military conscription (this has not happened yet). And besides technical rights and obligations, what have been the gender differences in citizenship for women and men, such as the degree to which they are represented in government? There are many useful histories of gender and the development of American democracy, including some superb general studies (Kerber 1986; Evans 1989) and an increasing number on the development of citizenship and social welfare policies in the modern state (Sapiro 1984; Gordon 1990; Skocpol 1992; Burstein, Bricher, and Einwohner 1995). Among these are also works that do especially well at examining the interrela-

tionship of the gender- and race-basis of American politics. See, for example Evans (1989), which incorporates the story of different groups, as well as Paula Giddings' (1984) work on African American women, and Bonvillain (1989), who shows the great variety in the gender basis of governance across the various Native American nations.

One often ignored but instructive area of American politics is women's lengthy battle to secure equal citizenship. At most times in American history there has been some active women's or feminist movement. Surely studying efforts to double the number of full citizens and the efforts to resist this change should be a central part of the story of American democratization. Some excellent works on this history that are especially well adapted to the theories, concerns, and approaches of political science include those cited plus Morgan (1972), DuBois (1978), Evans (1979), Berg (1980), Becker (1981), Cott (1987), Echols (1989), and Ryan (1992).

The theme of democracy and democratization can also be pursued by exploring (1) the degree to which gender distinguishes who is active and influential in politics and government and (2) current gender-based law, policy, and processes of decision-making. I will cover political behavior, public opinion, and political psychology later. A large literature asks how, in a democracy, a group as large and diverse as women could constitute such a small proportion of those elected to office (e.g., Burrell 1994; Darcy, Welch and Clark 1994). And once in office, do women and men act differently? Available works study this question with regard to elected and appointed officials, legislators and bureaucrats (Hale and Kelley 1989, Naff 1994, Thomas 1994, Duerst-Lahti and Kelly 1995). Indeed, given how masculine the image of public administration and policy has been, it is especially interesting that historians find considerable impact of women in the development and

study of public administration, at least up through the New Deal (Muncy 1991, Skocpol 1992, Gordon 1995). One intriguing question has been whether the nature of bureaucracy itself has been particularly—and unduly—masculine (Ferguson 1984, Iannello 1992).

In the area of law and policy, general texts and casebooks abound (e.g., Goldstein 1992, 1994; Rhode 1989; Mezey 1992). Many scholars have explored the notion of specifically "women's" interests or policies and have tried to define what constitutes "feminist" policy (Cornell 1991, Weisberg 1993, Shrage 1994); some have even considered whether there is a "feminist legal process" (Matsuda 1989; Cahn 1991). Not surprisingly, there are major differences of opinion. Important strands of research focus on specific policy and law areas obviously associated with women, including especially violence against women (MacManus and Van Hightower 1989); employment policy including protective labor legislation, comparable worth, affirmative action, and parental leave; reproductive policy including abortion (Petchesky 1990, Colker 1992); family policies and others related especially to children (Miller 1990, Fineman 1994); and pornography (Itzin 1993), among others. Each of these areas can be used to illustrate lessons in American politics that go beyond the gender questions, such as the limits of law in creating social change (e.g., employment policy), conflicts between protection and civil liberties (e.g., pornography), conflicts over fundamental values (e.g., abortion), or the state and private life (e.g., sexuality, family, and reproductive policy). One of the most important issues in current research on law and policy is over the questions of "difference" and "equality." If equality policy has traditionally rested on seeing "equality" or "equity" as "sameness" or "similarity," how can we understand equality where difference is apparent and perhaps desirable? The most obvious cases that raise these prob-

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lems treat biological difference, such as the ability to be pregnant (Williams 1991, Young 1990, Minow 1990, Goldstein 1992, Fineman 1994).

Comparative Politics

Most important areas of inquiry in Comparative Politics can be and have been subjected to gender analysis. For area and region specialists, one way to begin is to consult general works on women and politics in specific countries and regions. A few works take a global perspective on gender and politics from a comparative perspective (Nelson and Chowdhudry 1994).

There are many ways of summarizing issues and themes in comparative politics. The following notes are organized by major areas of the world as conventionally defined within political science, including the classifications of advanced industrial democracies (roughly North America, Western Europe, Japan, Australia), Newly Industrialized Countries ("NICs" such as Singapore, Malaysia, South Korea, Hong Kong), Third World (subdivided by region), the remaining Communist nations, and the "new democracies," especially of the former Soviet Union.

There are some good general works on women and politics in the *advanced industrial countries*, especially in Europe generally (Lovenduski 1991), and Scandinavia in particular (Haavio-Mannila, *et al.* 1985, Hernes 1987, Siim 1994). Scandinavia offers an intriguing case study because women are generally more integrated into politics at all levels than in other areas of the world and because Scandinavian policy is regarded as more "woman friendly" (Jones 1990) than is true in most other places. Nevertheless, Scandinavian political scientists especially provide a

more analytical and less romantic view of the dynamics of gender politics in Scandinavia than women from other parts of the world tend to expect.

Perhaps the liveliest area in cross-national studies is the role of gender in the development of the modern welfare state, and the impact on women of its specific development and its reaction to changes in the political economy (Hernes 1987, Ginn and Arber 1992, Lewis 1992, O'Connor 1993, Orloff 1993, Sainsbury 1993, Bock and Thane 1994), especially in contrast to more conventional explanations and less gender-conscious discussions (e.g., Esping Anderson 1985).

Many of the issues raised earlier with respect to American politics are important subjects within the comparative politics of gender in advanced industrials more generally. What accounts for the lower proportion (but a *varying difference* from country to country) of women in positions of political power, and what gender differences and similarities do we see in women's political involvement? (Jennings 1985, Rule 1987, Beckwith 1989, Hoskyns 1991, Lovenduski and Norris 1993, McLeay 1993, Norris and Lovenduski 1994). Australia and parts of Scandinavia, especially Norway, warrant close scrutiny because of the relatively large number of women in government, sometimes labelled "femocrats" (Haavio-Manilla 1985, Eisenstein 1991, Sawer 1990, Howe 1993, Siim 1994). A new topic is the status of women and politics in European regional government (Rendel 1992). There is also a growing literature on the comparative gender politics of law and policy more generally (e.g., Elman 1991, Waldschmidt 1991, Lewis and Åström 1992, Molony 1994).

The large literature on women and gender in the developing *Third World* includes both country and regional studies on the one hand and works on women and develop-

ment on the other. The long-time primary questions have revolved around the gender-based impact of economic development and development policies and the roles women have played (Afshar and Dennis 1992, Kabeer 1994). A second long-term question has been the relationship between gender and movements for national liberation and political development, including democratization (Jayawardena 1986, Moghadam 1994). Many studies of development and democratization focus on specific regions such as Africa (Callaway and Creevey 1994, Parpart and Staudt 1989), Latin America (Alvarez 1990, Collinson 1990, Verucci 1991, Radcliffe 1993, Jaquette 1994), and Asia (Agarwal 1994, Lateef 1994, Somjee 1989, Strathern 1987). Writers in these areas convincingly argue that it is impossible to understand the nature of economic or political development without understanding their gender dynamics. A literature on the NIC's is also developing (e.g., Darcy and Song 1986, Soh 1991). One issue that has emerged as important in gender-based analysis of these nations is the use of women in the tourism industry, including "sex tourism" (Truong 1990).

The *Mideast* (and North Africa) offers a special case for analysis of gender relations because of the issues raised for gender politics by the varieties of Islam and the relations among Islamic communities including ideas of pan-Arabism (Kandiyoti 1990, Moghadam 1993, Badran 1995, Singerman 1995), the history of gender politics in Israel including the early egalitarianism of some of the settlers, especially on the kibbutzim (Swirski and Safir 1991, El-Or and Aran 1995), and because of the impact of the political conflict surrounding Israel and the Palestinians (Strum 1992, Young 1992, Mayer 1994).

Until the fall of the *Communist regimes* of the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, gender politics posed a fasci-

nating case study of the determinants of women's status in which the official ideology was among the most egalitarian in the world but where both traditional cultures and material needs tended to work against gender equality. There are worthwhile studies of women and gender politics in the remaining Communist countries, especially China (Andros 1983, Hom 1994). Now, however, one of the most exciting literatures of all is that which focuses on the impact on women of the changes in the *democratizing and formerly communist countries*. Here we see ongoing experiments in the relationship of "democratization" to women. As the historians of the older democracies have long argued, the early stages of these changes are often especially harsh and hurtful to women (Einhorn 1993, Siemienska 1994). A special case offering a rich field for inquiry is Germany because of the integration of the two contrasting regimes as well as the influence of Europe as regional government (Bergahn 1995, Chamberlayne 1994).

One question that cuts across regions is the comparative politics of feminism and feminist movements. Some form—frequently many forms—of feminism has developed in most countries in the world. The structure and composition of the movements, their impact and treatment, depend on many things, including most especially the specific nature of the national political system and political economy and the gender-based culture in which people live (Cott 1987, Bassnett 1986, Jayawardena 1986, Lovenduski 1986, Echols 1989, Gelb 1989, Alvarez 1990, Sylvester 1991, Banaszak and Plutzer 1993, Einhorn 1993, Lovenduski and Randall 1993, Jaquette 1994, Badran 1995).

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International Relations

International relations is the field of political science that probably remains least affected by the new feminist scholarship. It deals with the traditionally most "male" aspects of politics. In recent decades the most prestigious approaches to international relations revolve around "international systems theories," in which the appropriate unit of analysis is neither the sub-national nor national level of politics, but the international system. Most feminist research in international politics theorizes explanations at the national and sub-national level.[3] Nevertheless, feminist studies research has made interesting and useful contributions to this field. Good general works on gender and international relations include Grant and Newland (1992), Peterson (1992), and Enloe (1989).

To start with the most "male" part of the field: the "masculinity" of defense and the military has usually seemed so obvious and natural that it may at first appear unworthy of study. Yet especially as defense forces in many countries have become more gender integrated, the gender basis of defense, including the comparative politics of women's involvement, is a good topic of study (Enloe 1983, 1992; Stiehm 1988; Moore 1992; Strum 1992). Women have had a much greater role in defense than is often supposed, have been more involved in combat, and as Enloe (1983) writes, their lives have been more militarized than is commonly perceived. Certainly women who live in combat areas cannot help being involved, and women have often been key players in anti-colonial wars, revolutions, and resistance movements (Enloe 1983, Strum 1992). Until recently feminist scholars (and those often labelled "radical") stood virtually alone in discussing and analyzing sexual violence as a common means of war-making, but recent events in the former Yugoslavia and in

Rwanda, and revelations about women held in sexual slavery by the Japanese during World War II, have reinforced the point (Pratt and Fletcher 1994). Women's prominence in peace and anti-militarist movements is also a worthy topic of study (Alonso 1993).

Many interesting questions about gender, defense, and war concern the broader cultural and ideological underpinnings. The very language of militarism is remarkably infused with both gender and sexuality (Cohn 1987). Women have generally been regarded as more peace-oriented than men, and there is considerable theoretical writing on the relationship between militarism and gender (e.g., Elshtain 1987, Elshtain and Tobias 1989). Empirical investigations of gender differences in foreign policy and defense orientations also find that although women seem to regard war and violence as a further "last resort" than men, gender differences are not as clear and simple as many people—including some feminist theorists—have claimed (Holsti and Rosenau 1981, Conover and Sapiro 1993, Togeby 1994). The importance of gender- and sexuality-based expectations regarding military personnel makes the lengthy battles over homosexuals in the military a telling subject for study (Phelps and Ben-Shalom 1990). Certainly the relationships between gender and militarism are not as simple as conventional wisdom would have them.

Defense and war constitute only one part of the field of international relations. International law, policy, and organization is another, and here we find a wider range of works. Questions of women's rights as human rights under international law extend back to the earliest conferences on international human rights law, and insofar as children's rights questions also tend to have special impacts on women, these too show the importance of gender politics questions in international politics (Cook 1990, Bunch 1990, Peters

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and Wolper 1994). International law and policy on women's rights constitutes a fascinating case study of the conventional topic of conflict between national sovereignty and national culture on the one hand and international order and justice on the other. Nations resist being told how to treat "their" women; the issues concerning women usually touch on "private" issues revolving around the family and sexuality. One conflict that has divided the international "feminist" community since the 1970s concerns genital mutilation or "female circumcision" as it is often incorrectly called, with some groups demanding international action to end this practice and others viewing such demands as an imposition of primarily white Western, Christian values on a practice most common in some Islamic regions of Africa (Koso-Thomas 1987). These kinds of conflicts are among the themes raised by studies of gender in international organizations, including the United Nations, or regional governmental bodies, such as the European Union (Pietilä and Vickers 1990, Hoskyns 1991).

Feminist scholars have participated in the growth of the field of international political economy. It is difficult to gauge the impact of changes in the international political economy on women because so much of women's labor is either unwaged, underpaid, or not recognized (Waring 1988). Women constitute a reserve and cheap labor force that plays key roles in both international trade and certain kinds of tourism. The development of global markets in, for example, textiles and electronics depends partly on women's cheap labor, and many countries that depend on tourism trade in images of "exotic" women or in the women themselves. Moreover, international trade, development, and aid policies have many gender-specific impacts on, for example, the nature of the service sector and gender-specific markets or technology and training programs that are often aimed very specifically at women or men depending

on gendered assumptions (Staudt 1985, Mies 1987, Enloe 1989, Kardam 1990, Afshar and Dennis 1992). In a related literature, some scholars are beginning to look at gender and international environmental issues (Seager 1993).

Gender and colonialism is another growing area of study, focusing especially on the interrelationship and interdependence of different forms of dominance and subordination (Callaway 1987, Rajan 1993, Mayer 1994, McClintock 1994). Similarly, work on gender, nationalism, and nationalist movements offers alternative perspectives on the same problems (Enloe 1983, Jayawardena 1986, Sapiro 1993b).

Methodology

As I indicated at the start of this essay, feminist studies has emphasized methodological and epistemological critiques of most disciplines, including political science. While *methodology* is often used in political science to refer specifically to statistics, it more properly should be used to refer broadly to the various forms and strategies of inquiry, including the basic philosophy of knowledge in use, the general forms of inquiry, and the range of specific strategies. Thus, not only should a good discussion of methodology in political science include statistical analysis, but also other empirical forms, not to mention the type of research that usually evades discussion of "methodology"—political philosophy.

Treatments of methodology in political science should incorporate the important issues and questions that have been raised widely throughout the social sciences. Among the general works in the area are those focusing on

epistemology and philosophy of knowledge and science (Eichler 1980, Hawkesworth 1987, Crawford and Gentry 1989, Gergen 1989, Code 1991, Nelson 1990, Harding 1991) and those discussing methods and strategies of inquiry (Eichler 1988, Reinhartz 1992).

I began this essay with a brief discussion of some of the critiques of political science levelled by feminist scholars. Besides those, probably the most common criticisms of methodology launched from the theoretical point of view revolve around critiques of "positivism" and especially quantitative approaches to research.[4] In brief, these critiques argue that work in these traditions objectifies the subjects and falsely establishes the researcher or "knower" as a value-free, objective observer. In light of the degree to which science—social and natural—has "seen" as objective truth the illusions fostered by cultural stereotype, such charges present science as it is often practiced as dehumanizing and even dangerous. Feminist epistemology is very influenced by and contributes to "interpretivist" schools of thought, arguing for greater emphasis on explorations of human subjectivity and less on what they would regard as illusory causal explanation and the loss of knowledge represented by the parsimony of quantitative approaches. In both the empirical and philosophical/theoretical ends of the discipline, mainstream political science is criticized for privileging male knowledge, experience, and subjectivity to present it as "truth." Thus women's collective actions or the daily problems they face are often not categorized as political and therefore worthy of study. Indeed, some feminist scholars have criticized others for using survey research and quantitative methods (Steurnagel 1987).

One of the best examples of sexism in science, especially for class use, is Emily Martin's (1991) article on the metaphorical constructions of conception as it appears in even very recent scientific history.[5] These metaphors re-

flect contemporary gender and especially sexual stereotypes, presenting the sperm and egg in terms of a stereotypic struggle of a male suitor for his reluctant—and passive—object of desire. A more prosaic, but political science based example, focuses on common approaches to understanding gender differences, for example, the "gender gap." Most journalists, commentators, and academics searching for explanations for the gender gap asked, in essence, what was it about *women* that made *them* different? This question will not lead to the right answer, which has at least as much to do with *men's* political behavior, and changes in their behavior, as women's. It takes two to make a difference. Also on the subject of differences, an excellent case study for teaching about means, variance, and distribution is the nature and plausible interpretations of quantitative studies of gender difference. In the vast majority of cases in which social scientists find a statistically significant "difference" between women's and men's behavior or attitudes, for example, drawing the distribution curves shows very forcefully how substantively insignificant a statistically significant "difference" can be.

Readers and producers of research must be conscious of the fact that gender plays a role in the research process. The sex of the researcher appears to make a difference in what is found (Eagly and Carli 1981). Some research reveals differences between men's and women's cognitive problem-solving styles, including their styles of learning about politics (Kathlene 1989). Although considerable research shows fewer gender differences in mathematics ability than stereotypes might have us believe, gender difference in problem-solving styles seem to lead women and men to do computer work differently, a point that should be taken into account in methods training (Kramer and Lehman 1990, Turkel and Papert 1990). This suggests that women's problems in methods training may often

hinge less on ability and more on expected learning and problem-solving styles.

A large literature across the social sciences offers both critiques of specific methods and, increasingly, constructive guidance in research methods that helps researchers minimize sexism and racism and overcome the obstacles to knowledge posed by methods that are not gender and race conscious. Anthropologists especially have written extensively on gender and ethnography (Bell, Caplan and Karim 1993) and field work more generally (Altorki and El-Solh 1988, Warren 1988); they point out that men and women face some different difficulties and opportunities in the field of which they should be aware, and that researchers tend to carry with them their gender-based perspectives. Analysis of issues related to interviewing may be useful for many different methodological forms (DeVault 1990, Gluck and Patai 1991), including the relationship between the gender and race of the interviewer and the interviewed (Beoku-Betts 1994). Much of the feminist literature on interviewing emphasizes a more interactive, self-reflexive, and intersubjective stance, denying interviewers the privilege of leaving their own perspectives unquestioned, and encouraging more contextualized knowledge. Indeed, some political scientists have joined the call for more emphasis on "personal narratives" (Buker 1987). Of course where there are critiques there are counter-critiques; while feminist studies has offered much to methods and approaches of studying politics, feminist scholars in the social sciences are also very diverse and have offered critiques of some of the trends in feminist approaches and emphases as well (Grant 1987, Mednick 1989, Sapiro 1995).

Political Theory and Philosophy

I opened with discussion revolving very much around issues of feminist studies and gender in political philosophy; thus this section will be very brief. Feminist theory lies at the core of women's studies and its contribution to the various disciplines. Here is where we engage in critique, construction, and transformation of the conceptual framework of gendered thinking, and draw the larger picture of how gender is, might be, and should be related to politics.

As discussed earlier, one great task has been probing and reevaluating the gendered basis of the theorists already covered in the curriculum. Among the works engaging in critical discussion of women and gender in historical political philosophy are Clarke and Lange (1979), Eisenstein (1981), Elshtain (1981, 1986), Jaggar (1983), Saxonhouse (1985), Brown (1988), Coole (1988), Nye (1988), Cocks (1989), and Di Stephano (1992). There are secondary works on almost every well-known political thinker and school of thought, too numerous to begin to cite here. Among the histories of feminist theory that are accessible to those new to the area are Jaggar 1983 and Tong 1988. See also collections of primary works of feminist theory (Rossi 1988) and the secondary literature on specific feminist theorists (e.g., on Wollstonecraft see Sapiro 1992, on Gilman see Allen 1988). There is now a growing literature on historical contributions to political theory of African American women (e.g., Wells Barnett 1970, Cooper 1988).

Of course a major portion of the field of political theory does not focus especially on historical work, and feminist theorists have made important contributions to contemporary schools of thought, such as critical theory (Benhabib

and Cornell 1987), postmodernism and deconstruction, especially in critical legal studies (Nicholson 1989, Cornell 1991), and psychoanalytic thought (Diamond and Quinby 1988). Especially useful and thought-provoking is the literature that critically discusses and recasts the key concepts and problems that are perennial in the study of politics, such as citizenship and the nature of democracy (Dietz 1985; Phillips 1991, 1993; Jones 1992), consent (Pateman 1980), contract (Pateman 1988), and obligation (Hirschmann 1992). For an introduction to some contributions to the flowering of feminist theory on "the political" outside political science, see Butler and Scott (1992).

Certainly a feminist political theory curriculum asks the very fundamental questions: What do we identify as "political thought," and whom do we identify as political thinkers? How do we define and classify the political, and who gets to define what the "important" questions are? There is power in defining the categories of "political" and "nonpolitical" and identifying the "perennial questions" and their answers. Who has had this power and why? To what degree has gender shaped the questions and answers?

Political Behavior and Political Psychology

The subfield in which there has probably been the greatest amount of work over the last few decades is the study of political behavior and public opinion. Indeed, for those who are relatively unfamiliar with gender politics research in general, the most obvious question to ask is one that falls to this subfield to answer: Why have women not been as politically active as men in the past, and what explains gender differences in political attitudes and beliefs? These questions tap fundamental preoccupations of politi-

cal science and especially the study of democratic politics. Even after women were "allowed" to participate in politics, what inhibited their participation? What are the dynamics of "democracy" that have kept some select groups— whether defined by gender, class, race, or other factors —from becoming as active as others? Why have so many countries that pride themselves on being democracies, felt unconcerned at this systematic exclusion? Why, in most parts of the world, has women's participation increased?

The political behavior literature seeks explanations in many areas, including changes in women's political socialization or in their resources for participation, changing cultural norms, the implementation of specific policies (such as affirmative action) designed to encourage their participation, and specific historical events (such as those surrounding the actions of the Mothers of the Plaza de Mayo) that draw particular groups of women into activism. The question, "how much do women participate in politics?" is complicated partly because we have to clarify the question itself: Compared to what? How much do they participate compared to how much they used to participate? Compared to how much men participate? Compared to how much women *should* participate? A large literature on women's participation in many countries focuses on the many kinds of participation, including electoral politics, community participation, protest, and social movement activity (Johnson 1982; Christy 1987; Daniels 1988; Pope 1989; Basu 1992; Bystydzienski 1992; Hardy-Fanta 1993; Radcliffe and Westwood 1993; Rowbotham and Mitter 1993; Rule and Zimmerman 1994; Schlozman, Burns, and Verba 1994; Siim 1994; Singerman 1995).

Of course it is not enough to know how much women participate; we also have to consider the relationship of gender to political beliefs, attitudes, and perceived inter-

Towson University, Baltimore, MD

ests. Conventional wisdom sees men and women as very distinct in their politics because of socialization and, in some cases, biological difference (i.e., the view that women are "naturally" more nurturant or anti-violent). In fact, very few gender differences in political orientations appear either consistently over time or across cultures. Many countries observe partisan gender differences, but in the United States, for example, the partisan differences meant men were more liberal in the 1950s and 1960s and women were more liberal after that, especially since the appearance of the "gender gap" in the 1980s. (On partisan and vote differences, see Mueller 1988; Bashevkin 1984; Christy 1987; Aimer 1993; Cook, Thomas, and Wilcox 1993; Lovenduski and Norris 1993; Darcy, Welch and Clark 1994.) Public opinion research finds consistent gender differences in attitudes toward war and other forms of violence, although not on all questions at all times (Conover and Sapiro 1993), as well as some other less consistent and ubiquitous differences, for example, on social welfare questions (Jennings and Farah 1980, Shapiro and Mahajan 1986). The question of whether gender structures political opinion and interests goes beyond looking for aggregate differences between women and men; it also requires looking at whether differences in the construction and enactment of gender among women or among men lead to political differences (Sapiro 1983).

Finally, an important contribution of this subfield is its emphasis on exploring political orientations toward women, gender, and feminism. What difference does candidates' gender make in the way they are perceived and in the likelihood people will vote for them (Burrell 1994, Norris and Lovenduski 1994)? One part of this question has to do with the way the mass media treat women (Kahn 1992, 1993; Kahn and Goldenberg 1991). Many studies investigate attitudes toward and beliefs about gender and

relevant policy issues (Marshall 1991, Bennett and Bennet 1992, Banaszak and Plutzer 1993). Many also investigate the meanings of "feminism" in people's minds and who identifies with this term and why. Among the most analytically interesting studies are those investigating "gender consciousness" and the impact it has on the way people think about and act in politics (Conover 1988, Sapiro 1990, Davis and Robinson 1991, Rinehart 1992, Hildreth and Ran 1994).

These studies, like most others, are interesting in themselves, but also pose "larger" questions in political science. What are the circumstances under which people develop a collective consciousness, especially when they are clearly relatively lacking in political power, and what are the circumstances under which collective consciousness is applied to politics?

Conclusion

There is no good excuse for leaving gender out of the political science curriculum, or for assuming the issues are best handled by leaving them to segregated women and politics classes. Gender is too important an element of the organization of political structures and processes in most political systems to ignore. A literature is available in almost every area of the discipline at all levels of instruction, from the introductory level to those appropriate for advanced graduate studies. Many appropriate Web sites are now available for those who like to use the new technologies in their teaching (see *Web Sites*, below). Most political science conferences—certainly all of the major ones—include many papers and panels on gender politics. The American Political Science Association's Organized Section on Women and Politics Research has among its

membership hundreds of scholars in this area of research, most of whom are probably willing and able to offer assistance to colleagues.

Endnotes

1. Although the field is commonly called *women and politics*, I use the term *gender politics* to underscore the fact that the impact of feminist studies has been not just to include women and "women's perspectives," a problematic term, but to incorporate gender as a key concept into political science, to create a "gender conscious" study of politics.

2. I have expanded on these points considerably in Sapiro 1991.

3. For those outside this area, the distinction is hard to understand. Most of what feminist scholars refer to as "global" politics explains international politics in terms of the interests of specific nations or the interests of specific cross-national interest groups or particular collectivities of people; these types of explanation do *not* fall into what international relations theorists call international systems theory.

4. Unfortunately, the vast majority of critiques of positivism appear to be written by those without a lot of background in the history of the philosophy of science, and thus the term is used very loosely; further, most of the critiques of both "positivist" and "quantitative" political science are written by those who are not themselves well-trained or experienced in this kind of research, and thus often caricature it, much to the detriment of basically good arguments.

5. This article is not from the political science literature, but it is such a good vehicle for teaching these points that it is well worth using.

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Electronic Resources

There are many Web sites useful for the study of women and politics. This list includes only a few, emphasizing those with links to other useful sites.

Center for the American Woman and Politics (http://www.rci.rutgers.edu/~cawp) is the home page for CAWP at the Eagleton Institute of Politics at Rutgers University. Besides information about the Center it has fact sheets and other information about women candidates and present and former women office holders.

Femina: Politics (http://www.femina.com/femina/politics) has pointers to many women's organizations and sites around the world.

Feminist Internet Gateway (http::/www.feminist.org/gateway/1_gatway.html). This links to many different sites, including internet search tools. See especially the links to *Global Feminism, Women in Politics, Violence against Women, Index of Women's Organizations*, and *Government Research and Reference*.

Feminist Internet Gateway: Women in Politics (http://www.feminist.org/gateway/po_exec2.html). This includes descriptive abstracts as well as pointers to many useful sites, including other lists, women's organizations, and academic sites.

Global Fund for Women (http://www.igc.apc.org.gfw/) is the home page for an international organization focusing on female human rights. It leads to interesting and important information around the world.

Women in Politics (http://www.westga.edu/~wandp/w+p.html). This is the home page for the academic journal *Women and Politics*. It includes links to other political science sites and discussion lists.

Women in World Politics Bibliography (http://www-osf.wesleyan.edu/gov/gallagher/resources.html) is an excellent annotated bibliography designed as a class project at Wesleyan.

Women's Studies Resources: Government and Politics (http://www.inform.umd.edu:8080/EdRes/Topic/Womens Studies/). Government and Politics includes the government and politics listings within the excellent resources based at the University of Maryland. Move "up" to the more general listings to get lost on the Net.

About the Author

Virginia Sapiro is the Sophonisba P. Breckinridge Professor of Political Science and Women's Studies at the University of Wisconsin, Madison. She earned her Ph.D. in Political Science at the University of Michigan in 1976. Her major research and teaching fields include political psychology and political behavior, American politics, gender politics, and feminist and democratic theory. Given the embryonic state of women's studies generally, and gender studies in her discipline when she started her career, she hopes that most of her career will be a "curriculum transformation project." Among her publications are *The Political Integration of Women: Roles, Socialization, and Politics* (1983), *A Vindication of Political Virtue: The Political Theory of Mary Wollstonecraft* (1992), which won the American Political Science Association's Victoria Schuck Award for best book on women and politics, and *Women in American Society: An Introduction to Women's Studies* (fourth edition 1997/98), an interdisciplinary social science based introduction to women's studies.

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WOMEN IN THE CURRICULUM

The following publications consist of directories, manuals, and essays covering the primary information needed by educators to transform the curriculum to incorporate the scholarship on women. The publications have been designed to be brief, user friendly, and cross referenced to each other. They can be purchased as a set or as individual titles. Tables of contents and sample passages are available on the National Center Web page: http://www.towson.edu/ncctrw/.

➢ ***Directory of Curriculum Transformation Projects and Activities in the U.S.***

The *Directory* provides brief descriptions of 237 curriculum transformation projects or activities from 1973 to the present. It is intended to help educators review the amount and kinds of work that have been occurring in curriculum transformation on women and encourage them to consult project publications (see also *Catalog of Resources*) and to contact project directors for more information about projects of particular interest and relevance to their needs.

386 pages, 8½ x 11 hardcover, $30 individuals, $45 institutions, ISBN 1-885303-07-6

➢ ***Catalog of Curriculum Transformation Resources***

The *Catalog* lists materials developed by curriculum transformation projects and national organizations that are available either free or for sale. These include proposals, reports, bibliographies, workshop descriptions, reading lists, revised syllabi, classroom materials, participant essays, newsletters, and other products of curriculum transformation activities, especially from those projects listed in the *Directory*. These resources provide valuable information, models, and examples for educators leading and participating in curriculum transformation activities.

(Available fall 1997)

➢ ***Introductory Bibliography for Curriculum Transformation***

The *Introductory Bibliography* provides a list of references for beginning curriculum transformation on women, especially for those organizing projects and activities for faculty and teachers. It does not attempt to be comprehensive but rather to simplify the process of selection by offering an "introduction" that will lead you to other sources.

15 pages, 6 x 9 paper, $7, ISBN 1-885303-32-7

➢ ***Getting Started: Planning Curriculum Transformation***

Planning Curriculum Transformation describes the major stages and components of curriculum transformation projects as they have developed since about 1980. Written by Elaine Hedges, whose long experience in women's studies and curriculum transformation projects informs this synthesis, *Getting Started* is designed to help faculty and administrators initiate, plan, and conduct faculty development and curriculum projects whose purpose is to incorporate the content and perspectives of women's studies and race/ethnic studies scholarship into their courses.

124 pages, 6 x 9 hardcover, $20 individuals, $30 institutions, ISBN 1-885303-06-8

➢ ***Internet Resources on Women: Using Electronic Media in Curriculum Transformation***

This manual gives clear, step-by-step instructions on how to use e-mail, find e-mail addresses, and access e-mail discussion lists relevant to curriculum transformation. It explains Telnet, FTP, Gopher, and the World Wide Web, and how to access and use them. It discusses online information about women on e-mail lists and World Wide Web sites. Written by Joan Korenman, who has accumulated much experience through running the Women's Studies e-mail list, this manual is a unique resource for identifying information for curriculum transformation on the Internet. Updates to this manual will be available on the World Wide Web at http://www.umbc.edu/wmst/updates.html .

130 pages, 6 x 9 hardcover, $20 individuals, $30 institutions, ISBN 1-885303-08-4

➢ ***Funding: Obtaining Money for Curriculum Transformation Projects and Activities***

This manual is intended to assist educators who lack experience in applying for grants but are frequently expected to secure their own funding for projects. The manual provides an overview of the process, basic information and models, and advice from others experienced in fund raising.

150 pages,6 x 9 hardcover, $20 individuals, $30 institutions, ISBN 1-885303-05-x

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➢ ***Discipline Analysis Essays***

Under the general editorship of Elaine Hedges, the National Center has requested scholars in selected academic disciplines to write brief essays summarizing the impact of the new scholarship on women on their discipline. These essays identify and explain the issues to be confronted as faculty in these disciplines revise their courses to include the information and perspectives provided by this scholarship. The series is under continuous development, and titles will be added as they become available. See order form for essays currently available.

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